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Above: The Mossi Salute.
Below: A Naba and his Horsemen.

11: Skinner E-5 (1955-1957) 1964
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Wobogo. However, he did not have to intervene, because while still en route he heard that Ouagadougou had fallen."[25] Thanks to this type of aid, the Mogho Naba was able to gather quite a large army, a fact that contradicts Crozat's belief that the Mogho Naba was a "king without an army."[26]

The early Mogho Nanamse used to accompany their armies into the field, but this practice was later abandoned and was revived periodically only by the more adventurous rulers. (The last ruler to die in warfare was Mogho Naba Doulougou [ca. 1800].) However, it was the Mogho Naba's duty to greet the army when it came to Ouagadougou, to beat the royal war drum, and to turn the troops over to the Tansoba. This officer served as commander in chief of the army, and was assisted by the Gounga Naba, a provincial minister, who served as his aide-de-camp. The Gounga Naba was expected to die rather than retreat in battle, especially if the Tansoba was killed. Two other ministers, the Kamsaogho Naba and the Larhalle Naba, also accompanied the army. The later Baloum Nanamse did not venture into battle, because they had to attend to the personal needs of the Mogho Naba. In early times, however, they accompanied their sovereigns into battle and fought alongside them. The Ouidi Naba never went to war, because it was his duty to look after the kingdom. He had to ensure the interests of all the people even if the royal army was defeated, the country invaded, and the ruler killed or forced to flee. The Samande Naba went to war and served as chief of the infantry.

Scouts preceded each district contingent as the army marched off to battle. Within the contingent, the younger warriors marched in front, followed by older men. It was the duty of the more experienced warriors to make sure that the younger men did not break ranks and run under the stress of battle. Behind the foot soldiers came the cavalry, composed of nobles and of the few commoners who possessed horses. Behind these came the district chief, surrounded by his own palace guard. Several heralds known as *yumba* (sing. *yuma*) accompanied the district forces to exhort them to fight. As the men marched to battle the yumba shouted:

> Men! Your ancestors were not slaves. They were men. They were stronger than anyone else. They did not bathe with water; they bathed with blood. Do you wish to return home to drink millet water and eat bread? Never! A man does not eat bread or drink millet water; a man fights. Your ancestors were not afraid of anyone; you must not be afraid of anyone. Even if you are killed today, you must march ahead, beat your enemies, and take their villages. You must not be afraid!

Mossi armies on the march used scouts to keep a sharp lookout for the enemy or for any evidence that he was aware of impending attack. The tactics these scouts used to avoid detection, such as camouflaging themselves

11: Skinner E-5 (1955-1957) 1964
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13. Binger, I, 18, 440.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 450.
15. *Ibid.*, pp. 469-70.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 460.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 467.
18. Von François, p. 143 ff.
19. Marc, p. 36.
20. Crozat, p. 4820.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 4835.
22. *Ibid.*
23. *Ibid.*, p. 4836.
24. *Ibid.*
25. *Ibid.*
26. *Ibid.*, p. 4849.
27. *Ibid.*, p. 4850.

28. Marc, p. 38. He attempts to maintain historical veracity: "Contrary to what Crozat believed, the Mogho Naba was able to assemble thousands of horsemen with which to confront the French."

29. Monteil, p. 163.

30. He gives an account of the northern region of Ghana in a secret report quoted in Wolfson, p. 199.

31. "Les Missions Françaises dans La Boucle du Niger," *Bull. du Comité de L'Afrique Française*, VII (1897), 108-9.

32. *Ibid.*

33. *Bull. du Comité de L'Afrique Française*, V (1895), 276. The people of Nobere say that Alby went to the ruler's son at Djiba and asked to be taken to Ouagadougou because he had presents for the Mogho Naba. But the prince, noting the soldiers with the European, secretly went to his father and told him about the mission. Mogho Naba Wobogo then called his ministers together and asked them whether the visitor should be received. They told him that they feared this visit was a trick to capture the country, and told the Djiba Naba to tell his guest that Mogho Naba Wobogo did not want any Europeans in his kingdom.

34. Marc, pp. 35-38. See "Les Missions Françaises dans La Boucle du Niger," *Bull. du Comité de L'Afrique Française*, VII (1897), 107-12, for a discussion of the controversy between the European powers for control of these territories.

35. Tauxier, *Le Noir du Yatenga*, p. 109.

36. Barry, p. 131.

37. Tauxier, *Le Noir du Yatenga*, p. 111.

38. Noll, p. 257. The Mossi were a bit chagrined that a relatively small force conquered them. This force consisted of Lt. Voulet, his adjutant Lt. Chanoine, Sergeants Laury and Le Geriel, 29 Senegalese infantrymen, 10 spahis, 180 Sudanese infantrymen armed with European weapons, 40 Sudanese horsemen, and 250 porters. The Mossi now insist that although this force was small, it had more fire-power than they had ever encountered, and that they had only flint guns aside from their traditional weapons. They say that if they had had rifles, no one would ever have entered their country.

39. Archives, Document 15G-190 (June 1897).
40. Noll, p. 257.
41. Dim Delobson, p. 38.
42. *Ibid.*, p. 39 ff.
43. Randau, p. 433.

44. It is not clear whether Mazi was poisoned (as the French claim), or whether he died a natural death. Despite French claims to the contrary, the Mossi insist that Mazi was never ruler of Ouagadougou, and they do not include him in their genealogies. The present chief of Nobere insists that Mazi was never Mogho Naba and that he died a natural death. Dim Delobson also declares that although Mazi was Wobogo's sworn enemy, and would have liked to become Mogho Naba, he was ill when Voulet called upon him and died before acceding to power. (Dim Delobson, pp. 41-42.)

45. Lambert, p. 73.

46. Archives, Doc. 15G-190 (May 1897). The Nobere people deny that they supported the French, but official documents of the period report that it was the Nobere Naba who informed the French of Boukary Koutou's activities. The people of Nobere